

the conclusion that socialism is the only alternative to the serious dysfunctions and contradictions of capitalism and predicted a number of the future society's characteristics that indicated ways and means of achieving the masses' ideals of freedom, justice and humanism. The founders of scientific socialism determined the historical mission of the working class, the masses and the peoples and the role of revolutionary action organized to fulfill the communist ideal, and they saw in the political party of the working class the decisive factor for convincing the masses and extensively involving them in the struggle for socialism. They warned against the dangers of abstract patterns and ready-made formulas in solving the far-reaching problems of socialist construction, and they pointed out that the revolutionary theory can be effective only when it is creatively applied in accordance with each nation's different historical conditions.

The theory of scientific socialism also emphasized the processual and comprehensive nature of the assertion of the principles and values of the new order and its historical superiority. F. Engels accordingly viewed socialist society as a living, dynamic organism, "as something subject to constant change and to progress." In this processual approach, socialism is only the first, initial stage of communism, and V. I. Lenin, in speaking of the questions of progress toward the higher stage of the new order aiming at the principle "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs," wrote in "The State and Revolution," "I do not and cannot know by what stages and practical measures mankind will advance toward this higher purpose. But it is important for us to realize the complete falsity of the common bourgeois notion that socialism is something dead, petrified and laid down once and for all, whereas actually it is only with socialism that any rapid, true progress of a real mass character, with participation of the majority of the population and later with that of the entire population, will begin in all walks of social and individual life."

The ideals of socialism and communism and of social and national equity and justice are most emphatically displaying their powers of attraction and persuasion during the radical changes of the present period, when transition to the socialist system is becoming more and more definitely a characteristic feature and an irreversible trend of the world in which we are living and the struggle of the masses and the peoples against injustices and social and production relations outmoded by history and on behalf of new international relations and national sovereignty and independence is being accentuated in many countries.

The peoples are taking the path of socialism today under a wide diversity of economic, political, social, historical and national conditions inevitably leading to a variety of practical revolutionary ways and means and to multiplication and diversification of the political and social forces engaged in accomplishing this great undertaking and in stimulating the creative spirit of the revolutionary theory in an unprecedented way. Experience tells us that progress on the path of socialism and communism demands of every country's revolutionary forces, every people and every party of the working class an intensive, comprehensive and bold effort, a selfless and dedicated spirit, and resolution of many difficulties and new problems inherent in such a vast and unprecedented undertaking.

Very far-reaching problems are presented by construction of the new order when, as it often happens in the present period and is also true of Romania, the transition to socialism has been made or is being made in underdeveloped or medium developed capitalist countries, some of which have mostly agrarian and

industrially underdeveloped economies and sometimes no previous knowledge of any advanced political and democratic existence. The peoples and revolutionary forces of such countries face many complicated problems, chief among which is certainly industrialization, without which the technical-material base essential to the rapid all-around progress of the new order is impossible. That requirement very urgently presents the problem of developing the productive forces and forming modern economic structures that can make better use of the material and man-power resources, enhance labor productivity, and advance education, science and culture.

These circumstances bring out even more clearly the historic achievements of socialism, which has solved many problems in a short time that the previous systems could not touch, such as abolition of exploitation of man by man, national oppression, and the great social inequalities and injustices. Socialism is emerging in our era as a dynamic and powerful economic, political, social, scientific and cultural reality, with outstanding achievements in development of the productive forces, education and culture, a new form of social, political and democratic organization, and new experience, personnel and institutions. It is accompanied by an unprecedented expansion and maturing of the social and political forces engaged in revolutionary social reform.

Characteristics of Socialist Society

Socialist society is a distinct and qualitatively new stage in man's evolution that is formed and developed as a whole economic, social and political reality, with characteristic structures and relations essentially different from those of previous orders and as a dynamic system with developmental functions, motive forces and laws of its own.

Socialist construction has a number of common characteristics, laws and principles, but it is going on under a wide diversity of particular conditions. It involves various economic and social structures, different levels and rates of development of production and promotion of the scientific-technical revolution, various stages of maturity of social and production relations, its own ways and means of social organization and management, and distinctive elements in democratic development and mass experience in participation. The diversity of economic, social, political and national conditions as well as the different stages of socioeconomic development in which certain countries are or have to go through naturally make differences in the practical ways and means of socialist construction, in the forms and methods of organizing and managing their economies and societies as a whole, in the nature and functions of their various political institutions, etc. The RCP does not think such differences can be used to question socialism in any given country or to contrast the socialism in one country with that in other countries or with that to be accomplished in the future. No one knows the economic and social facts of a country and its internal and international political situations better than the respective people's Communist Party and their revolutionary and political forces. Therefore they alone are responsible for developing their revolutionary strategy and tactics for building the new order.

Because of the great variety of circumstances under which it goes on, socialist construction cannot be forced into any rigid patterns or molds, and no single,

universally valid models providing ready-made answers to the many problems arising in each individual case are possible or viable. On the contrary, as a dynamic, radically innovating and revolutionary undertaking of our time socialist construction and development necessarily require the presence and creative and responsible action of the masses, and they offer a broad field and unlimited possibilities for rallying the entire people to purposeful construction of their own future.

Guided by the fundamental principles of scientific socialism and by the conclusions drawn from careful and exhaustive analysis of the developments and processes of the contemporary world, the RCP views socialist society as a socioeconomic reality characterized in general by the workers' political power, socialist production relations, elimination of the exploiting classes and social antagonism, and promotion of the socialist principles of distribution. On this subject the RCP Program points out that "The nature of the political power and production relations, transfer of the state power into the hands of the workers, establishment of a socialist ownership of the main production means, abolition of exploitation of man by man, and application of the socialist principles of distribution are and always will be essential to socialism."

In this view, a country can be called socialist if there are revolutionary reforms in its social structure, in the nature of its political power, and in its production relations and if its economy and society as a whole are organized on socialist principles.

Accordingly economic relations based on socialist ownership of the production means, promotion of the socialist principles of distribution, and abolition of any forms of exploitation of man by man are fundamental and distinctive characteristics of socialist society.

Socialist ownership of the production means is particularly important in describing the new order because it ultimately determines the nature, trends and forms of development of all the relationships that are established in production, distribution, exchanges and consumption.

The RCP proceeds here from the main conclusions that (a) The entire development of human society shows that every social system has and has had its own forms of ownership of the main production means, (b) At all stages of historical development, the nature of the economic production relations is determined by the nature of ownership of the production means, (c) Socialism and communism can succeed only on the basis of the workers' common social ownership of the production means, and (d) For the new order, common state or cooperative ownership of the production means socialism produces is one of the fundamental and controlling objective laws as compared with other objective economic laws.

The new form of ownership is the foundation of material and cultural social progress and the workers' democratic rights and freedoms as well as improvement of the entire people's standard of living and civilization. It makes it necessary and possible for all members of society to participate both in socially useful work according to their individual training and aptitudes and society's needs and requirements, and in the units' entire administrative activity as well as political affairs in general.

Distribution of the national income and social product on socialist principles of social justice and equity and according to each one's work plays a vital part in the system of socialist production relations. The new criterion for distribution, according to the quantity and quality of the work performed, reflects the equality of all members of society in regard to the production means. The principle "From each according to his ability and to each according to his work," characteristic of the first stage of the new order, is an important means of motivating the members of society to develop and improve production, to manage the resources and all social wealth most carefully, to make rapid and harmonious social progress, to improve their occupational training and competence, and to make use of the creative powers of the members of society.

Knowledge and application of the general economic laws are intended to further improve the socialist production method, to stimulate the productive forces and the social and production relations, and to do away with arbitrary and random action in socioeconomic development. The purposeful and planned character of socioeconomic development and the ability to organize and manage all social activities and to combine and concentrate the resources and efforts on the main objectives that will fulfill the ideals of the new order secure the superiority of socialist society over all previous systems.

The new order is making radical changes in the class structure of society, in the nature of the social classes and groups, and in the relations among them. The exploiting classes are disappearing along with the antagonisms bred by the conflict of class interests. Socialist production relations are giving the workers the status of the socialist kind of owners, who are producers and beneficiaries of the results of their labor. The working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia are basing their existence upon collaboration and mutual aid, have vital interests in common, and are participating in social management together. Socialist social unity, a major motive force of the new order, is constantly forming and developing on the basis of common aims and interests, revolutionary alliance, joint participation in social management, and higher standards of culture and socialist awareness.

The socialist political system reflects and establishes the leadership of the working class in society, its alliance and close collaboration with the cooperative peasantry, the intelligentsia and the other categories of workers, and the social-political unity of all workers regardless of nationality. The RCP is the vital center of all Romanian society and the political force spurring the people's creative energies on the path of socialism and communism.

For the first time in history the state is becoming the supreme representative of the socialist kind of owners and producers. As the representative of the workers' supreme power and organizer of the entire people's joint wealth, the workers' revolutionary democratic state plays the telling role in uniform planning, organization and management of all socioeconomic activity according to the Unified National Plan. Intensive development of the productive forces, unprecedented expansion of socioeconomic activities, and the enormous tasks of enhancing the roles of science, education and culture objectively require further enhancement of the state's role in uniform, balanced and proportional development of society and in its all-around progress toward communism. In that spirit the 12th Party Congress outlined the main directions of development of the state's role

and pointed out the necessity of further efforts to combine the socialist state's activity harmoniously with that of the democratic bodies on the principles of democratic centralism, self-management and self-administration, providing for all workers' increasingly active participation in devising and implementing the program for national socioeconomic development.

The new order opens up a wide field for strengthening the socialist nation and developing the independent national states. Since the nation will continue to play a major role in social progress and in collaboration with other nations for a long time and especially under communism, the RCP is making every effort to develop the nation's new qualities and to even and strengthen its unity as a vital factor for the victory of socialism and communism in Romania. Meanwhile, in view of the presence of national minorities in Romania due to its historical development, Romanian society consistently applies the party's Marxist-Leninist policy to the minorities problem, guaranteeing fully equal rights and participation in social management to all citizens regardless of nationality.

The vitality of socialist society's development depends upon extensive development of education, science and culture, upon promotion of a new set of values, chief among which are the individual, revolutionary humanism and the principles of socialist ethics and justice, and upon a new quality of work and life. Socialist culture, characterized by an intensive process of ideological and axiological renovation and leveling, is establishing a new social self-awareness, namely socialist awareness, and it is playing a leading part in forming the new man and accelerating all-around social progress.

The RCP and its general secretary realize that socialism is only an initial stage of communism and that development of the new order is expected to prepare the way completely and in depth for the advance to communism. The whole strategy for building the fully developed socialist society in Romania, as an objectively necessary step toward asserting the superiority of the socialist system and in preparing for the transition to communism, illustrates the RCP's very profound approach to the dialectics of socialist and communist society.

Of course there is no dividing wall nor any antagonistic contradictions between the lower and the higher stage of communism. As the RCP Program points out, "There is a close dialectical unity between these two stages of communism." Some principles of the higher stage are already being applied in the first stage of the new order. The characteristics of the two stages of the communist system are ever more closely involved in the transition from socialism to communism.

The RCP regards anticipating the communist future as an essential feature of purposeful management of socialist society and an integral part of the revolutionary spirit. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "We must always think not only of the present but also of the future of the Romanian people and nation. Let us not for a moment forget that we have the great responsibility of securing a bright, free and independent future for the Romanian people and nation in the fully developed socialist society and communism."

The vital importance of the program documents of the RCP and of Nicolae Ceausescu's extensive theoretical works lies in the very fact that on the basis of the living spirit of Marxist thought and the facts of the nation and the present era,

they provide a comprehensive projection, which is now being fully implemented and enriched, of Romania's advance toward communism and of the main characteristics and processes peculiar to communist society.

Unity of the Social and National in the Socialist Revolutionary Process

From the earliest times all the social units known in man's development have succeeded each other on the territory of present-day Romania. Although some social units developed late because of particular historical circumstances, especially prolonged foreign domination, the advanced forces of the people always maintained the revolutionary process of continuous progress, formation of the nation and the people, and national socioeconomic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "A scientific analysis based on the historical and dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception of the formation and development of the Romanian people and nation demonstrates by force of the indisputable historical facts and events that all the changes conformed to an extensive revolutionary process of heroic struggles for their own existence, for the formation and development of the nation, and for freedom, independence and socioeconomic progress."

Since the socialist nations are an unquestionable reality and the whole task of building the new order is being accomplished within the objective framework of sovereign independent states, it is vitally important to preparation and promotion of a correct revolutionary policy to understand the relationships between the national and international objectives. Under the new conditions the national interests are those of a nation led by the working class and the Communist Party. They are components of the general interests of socialism, which are inseparable from every socialist country's vital national interests and can never be viewed apart from them. The dialectical unity of the universal and particular and the national and international is achieved through the policy of the Communist Party, the leading force of socialist construction. Solidarity and collaboration must be on the principles of full equality and respect for every party's right to devise its political policy in accordance with its national situation.

As experience tells us, the particular way in which the nature and distinctive characteristics of the new order are expressed and exploited historically is a complex and lengthy process, and its requirements, common laws and rates are closely associated with the specific facts, with the various stages of socioeconomic development from which the socialist countries started, with the particulars of building and consolidating the new socialist relations and structures, with the qualities of the subjective factor and its ability to plan, organize and manage this whole constructive undertaking. The general and particular and the objective and subjective are in an inseparable dialectical unity within this process. As the concentrated, succinct expression of historical development, the general laws must always refer to the specific facts, since the general exists only through the particular, it is the product and the expression of certain historical conditions, and it is valid only for and within those conditions. And finally, experience and the specific facts are the ones that test, correct and embody the expression of the general while verifying, modifying or refuting any of the general laws.

Any disregard of the general laws or principles of socialism as well as any disregard of the specific facts and application of models, stereotypes or patterns

not based on the facts can cause socialist construction difficulties and serious harm, jeopardizing the country's socialist development itself. The progress of the revolutionary forces inevitably depends on whether they understand the requirements of the objective laws, act in accordance with the social and national historical facts, consider the people's interests, proceed together with the working class, unite, and secure the masses' firm support.

The RCP's analyses of its own experience and that acquired on the international level indicate the dangers of the idyllic, triumphalist representation of the new order's development, the false impression that socialism can know no difficulties and that the establishment of the political power of the working class and the start of building the new society automatically lead to solution of the far-reaching problems presented by experience and to automatic application of the socialist principles. In accordance with the conclusions drawn from these analyses, the RCP regularly examines the application of the policies set both for society as a whole and for its various sectors and makes a determined effort to improve social organization and management, workers revolutionary democracy, self-management and self-administration, and the entire system of social relations.

In its extensive actions to enter the country upon new paths of progress and civilization the party has always realized that its own efforts are essential to this, on behalf of the most rational use of resources and unification of all the social forces, while promoting extensive international collaboration based upon equity and mutual benefit.

Dialectical unity of the general and particular, the national and international, and the internal and external calls for the creative, specific-historical approach to all problems in connection with construction of the new order, as each revolutionary party accordingly helps to enrich revolutionary theory and practice with its own measures and experience.

Historical Significance of the Ninth RCP Congress

As a regular stage of the revolutionary process of the Romanian people's economic and social progress, the Ninth RCP Congress inaugurated a new era in their history when it elected Nicolae Ceausescu to the highest office of party general secretary by the unanimous will of the communists and the entire people. With his encouragement and telling contribution, the Ninth RCP Congress as well as the later congresses and national conferences played a vital part in developing and activating all socialist construction in Romania, in devising a scientific, harmonious and revolutionary conception of the main courses of action toward the nation's general political, socioeconomic and cultural development, and in promoting the new creative spirit in the theory and practice of socialist construction.

The glorious course of historic achievements pursued since the Ninth RCP Congress was unquestionably influenced by the powerful personality of Nicolae Ceausescu, a tireless promoter not only of a bold and original form of revolutionary thought, initiative and action but also of the innovating conception of the content and directions of Romania's all-around socialist development.

The historic achievements of the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era" have been fully confirming the realism and viability of the Ninth RCP Congress' policies based upon

comprehensive, in-depth scientific investigation of the particular Romanian situation, upon bold and careful forecasting of the future, and upon creative application of the general principles of scientific socialism to the particular conditions in Romania and the present period.

The firm policy for national industrialization advanced by this historic party congress with Nicolae Ceausescu's telling contribution as well as the option for a high rate of accumulation provided for the formation of a strong, balanced and dynamic industry able to make better use of the nation's resources and the entire people's creative energies and able to make a decisive contribution to correction of the backwardness that once existed in Romanian society's development and to the transition to the fully developed socialist society.

The Ninth RCP Congress based its long-range goals on the need of eliminating all that was old and outmoded, dogmatism and routine, the various antiscientific ideas, and distrust of the creative power of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and the Romanian people, and it cleared the way for continued development of the revolutionary spirit and for promotion of the new in all activities. As a result Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country today with a developed modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture. In the period following the Ninth RCP Congress the industrial output increased by more than 6 times and is now 100 times greater than in 1944, while the agricultural output increased by about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times and is now 7 times greater than in 1944. In the same period the national income increased by more than 4 times and is now 32 times greater than in 1944.

Science, education and culture were intensively developed in this period too. An important part was played by the territorial-administrative reorganization, formation of the counties, harmonious allocation of the productive forces throughout the whole country, and socioeconomic development of all localities.

The Romanian people's great victories under party leadership since the Ninth RCP Congress are a lasting foundation for a successful transition to the goals and tasks set by the 13th RCP Congress to firmly carry on with the policy of building the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism, for further development of the productive forces and improvement of social and production relations on a new basis, and for more and more intensive promotion of the revolutionary reform of Romanian society, securing its rise to new heights of civilization and progress.

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RCP VIEWS ON LEADING ROLE OF PARTY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 85 pp 20-23

/Article by Pamfil Nichitelea and Constantin Nica for the first year of the University of Politics and Management: "The RCP's Revolutionary Conception of the World and Life. Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's Contribution to Creative Development of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Revolution and Construction" /

/Text/ The RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's rich theoretical works emphasize questions of party leadership. The party general secretary's ideological, theoretical and practical procedures after the Ninth Party Congress served to free the conception of the party from narrow and dogmatic views and lent the party's work a new scientific and revolutionary perspective. The ideas, theories and opinions developed in this historical period concerning the place and role of the revolutionary party of the working class in socialist construction placed the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies on a principled and realistic basis, helped to expand the communists' and workers' political and ideological outlook, and enhanced the RCP's contribution to enrichment of the revolutionary movement's ideological treasury and to the more effective advancement of the theory of scientific socialism in the world.

The Working Class Party and Leader of Society in the Ceausescu Era

The party's position in Romanian society and the development of its role are inherently bound up with the interests of the working class and its historical mission as a class bearing social progress and expected to lead the entire people to radical revolutionary reforms and socialist and communist construction. Historical experience shows that there is a complete dialectical unity between the advance of the working class' role as a leading social force and the party's leading political role. The historical legitimacy of the RCP's role accordingly lies in the fact that it has carried on the people's age-old struggle for social and national liberation as well as the best traditions of the socialist and workers movement in Romania and has proved to be the most faithful representative of the vital interests of the working class and the entire people.

The Communist Party has played an increasingly important part in all of Romania's social-political activities from its very beginning, and it has emphatically

asserted itself at crucial points in the nation's history as a national political force by assuming its historical role of organizer and leader of the struggle for fulfillment of the workers' vital aims and for national freedom and independence and social progress.

Although outlawed and subjected to a savage reign of terror, the RCP very emphatically asserted its ideological-political superiority and identified itself with the nation's higher interests. Under the Communist Party's leadership the heroic Romanian working class demonstrated its inexhaustible revolutionary energies, its spirit of self-sacrifice and its ability to take the lead in the entire people's struggle against exploitation and oppression in defense of their national existence. The RCP's strong ties to the working class proved to be the lasting basis for the unity of all the nation's advanced, democratic, patriotic and progressive forces in the battle for justice, freedom and complete national independence. Under the very hard conditions of Nazi rule the Communist Party was the organizer and leader of the national antifascist resistance, led the effort to extricate Romania from the unjust war into which the ruling circles had thrown it, and accomplished the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation, an act of vital importance in Romanian history. The historic events of August 1944 proved the RCP's ability to apply the revolutionary theory of the role of the working class and the need of its united action creatively to the particular Romanian conditions and to unite all of Romania's progressive forces and the broadest social categories in defense of the people's vital interests.

In the process of continuing and extending the revolution the acquisition of the entire political power by the working class in alliance with the peasantry and the other categories of workers was a critically important point in the emergence and confirmation of the RCP as a revolutionary political force that had assumed its mission of the highest responsibility, confirmed by the nation's sovereign will, of organizing and directing socialist and communist construction in Romania. Accordingly the RCP's confirmation as a leading political force in society is the outcome not of any subjective wishes but of a regular objective process of historical development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The RCP gained unanimous recognition of its leadership in Romanian society by the dedicated and selfless fidelity with which it served the highest interests of the working class, the workers and the entire people ever since it was founded."

The party's role as a leading political force in Romanian society was confirmed more and more definitely as socialist construction was developed and extended. As it led this great undertaking, the party proved to be the force able to provide and apply realistic and clear scientific measures for Romania's socioeconomic development on the course of progress characteristic of the socialist system, in close unity with the people from whom it sprang and is constantly renewed. The party's social leadership is accordingly the basis of the Romanian people's great achievements in the years of socialist construction and especially in the period since the Ninth Party Congress. The party's leadership secured intensive development of the productive forces, formation of a modern industry, cooperativization of agriculture and development of its technical-material base, unification of the socialist economy, growth of the national income, and further improvement of the entire people's welfare. The definitive victory of the new social relations established the most just and the most advanced society, namely socialist society, on Romanian soil.

The Ninth Party Congress was a vitally important point in the development of the RCP and of all socialist Romanian society and in the rise of the party's leadership in national affairs to a new peak. It inaugurated the most productive period in the whole era of socialist construction in Romania, a period called the "Ceausescu Era" with warranted patriotic pride.

Under the influence of the party general secretary's creative and dynamic revolutionary conception the Ninth RCP Congress placed a basic emphasis on an extensive and productive scientific preparation of measures essential to progress, accelerated development of the productive forces through industrial and agricultural modernization, extended socialist democracy, and effective and increasingly widespread mass participation in all social activities. Upon review of the 20 years following the historic 1965 Congress the conclusion is clear that over those years the preparations for the new order's further progress were always based on the party's careful analysis of the course of social development resulting from study of experience, social-political affairs, and the new realities.

This is graphically reflected in the party programs in the last 20 years and the general policy set by the 13th Congress, which were based on a sustained effort to examine the requirements of the objective laws and to determine and evaluate the needs of each stage of the nation's development correctly. Accordingly the radically innovating course characteristic of Romanian society in the last two decades is based upon the party's realistic and creative policy and its ability to devise the best solutions to the economic and social problems in the light of the objective laws.

The Party's View of Its Role As Vital Center of the Nation

As a purposefully constructed system, socialism is undergoing a fundamental change in the proportion between the random and the purposeful in the considerable gain in the role of the subjective factor, which is expected to provide thorough knowledge and scientific evaluation of the facts and requirements of social progress and to form the general political policy in keeping with the masses' aspirations and the conditions of each developmental stage. In this connection Romanian social-political experience shows that the development of the Communist Party as a fundamental, purposeful subjective factor and as a political force for efficient social management has been and is continually improved in its theoretical conception and in its practical ways and means.

In consideration of these requirements and the radical revolutionary social reforms and by applying the general truths of scientific socialism to the facts of Romanian society, Nicolae Ceausescu developed an original scientific conception whereby the party asserts itself more and more positively as the vital center of the entire nation, disseminating the bold thinking that will secure revolutionary social reform and the power that inspires the creative energies of the masses and the entire people. This dynamic conception of the party and its role in the present developmental stage of the Romanian social-political system is objectively determined by evaluation of the qualitative changes made in Romanian society. It is essentially a matter of development of the productive forces on new levels and improvement of social and production relations, of increasingly pronounced social leveling as the social leadership of the working class and socialist democracy develop, of general improvement of the masses' awareness, and of further

consolidation of the people's unity around the party. Accordingly, by asserting itself as the faithful and authorized representative of Romanian socialist society's aspirations, by exercising political leadership jointly with the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all workers regardless of nationality, and including over 3.5 million members in its ranks, the RCP is proving to be a true mass party completely integrated in society. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "In the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development, when socialist democracy is being developed and the democratic structure for mass participation in management of all sectors is being improved, it is the RCP's high mission to serve as the organizing and driving political force for all socioeconomic activity. It is and will continue to be the vital center of operations of Romanian socialist society."

Essentially, the principle of the party's role as the vital center of society requires exercise of its functions of leadership from within society and its institutions, where it can better stimulate the masses' energies and initiative and broaden socialist democracy. The RCP Program says, "The party's leadership must be exercised not from without but within the social, economic and state bodies. That is the natural and regular process of further development of the party's leadership, of consolidation of the entire people's unity around it, of improvement of the masses' general awareness, and of the people's increasingly active participation in social management."

In this view the party exercises its leadership primarily through scientific determination of the directions of national development and the general political policy that guides and directs all activities, through a sustained and comprehensive organizational and educational effort, and through the advanced example it sets every communist in his work and in all social-political activity.

There is an inherent correlation between preparing the general policy and program for national socioeconomic development and implementing them, and it is based on the principle that in the new order the party's political management function reflects its complete unity with the people. Experience acquired since the Ninth Party Congress tells us that party activity is inseparable from the masses and the people as a whole because the party activists and all communists in the socioeconomic units and party, mass and public organizations participate directly in the extensive process of preparing and implementing party policy and any tasks.

In the stage of building the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism, the party's ties with the masses of workers are being expanded and diversified, becoming increasingly profound and acquiring new characteristics against the background of development of socialist democracy and increasingly pronounced promotion of workers self-management. The formation of a new and democratic organizational structure, unique of its kind, or the initiative and under the leadership of the party and its general secretary provides a regular and productive dialogue between the party and the people as well as new forms of collaboration and cooperation for the nation's steady progress on the path of socialism and communism. In this broad democratic system party leadership prevents confusion or substitution of party and state institutions, maintains and develops their particular functions, enhances the roles of the state and the workers-revolutionary democratic bodies and extends their harmonious cooperation.

As the vital center of socialist society, the party serves as a powerful active force, organizing and stimulating all socioeconomic and political activity. In that way the party provides effective political leadership in all social activities from material production to ideological-educational work and from improvement of social relations to scientific, artistic and cultural activity in all units and workers collectives, constantly improving its performance of its political functions. Social experience confirms the impossibility of limiting the party's role to any given fields (ideological or cultural-educational) and leaving the other sectors (economic, political, technical-scientific) to chance.

The particular nature of the party's leadership, the growth of its role and the need of solving the practical problems promptly and with the greatest social benefit require more emphasis on strengthening the party, raising its ideological and political level, and enhancing its organizing power and unity. Although the party is going to perform its historical role for a long time to come, its functions, organizational forms and activity will certainly change with the historical stages in the future socialist and communist society's development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the party like any social body must keep improving with the great revolutionary social changes if it is to perform its highly responsible mission in socialist society.

Nicolae Ceausescu's theory of the party's increasingly close integration in society is particularly important in this respect. It is a requirement based on the particular facts of the present stage of Romanian society's development because it enables the party to include all social activities more fully in its leadership.

The vital policy of improved organization and management of party activity and improvement of its working methods and approach is an intrinsic component of the conception of the party's complete integration in society. As the RCP general secretary said, the party's internal democracy must be further developed as a part of socialist workers democracy and the role of collective work must be enhanced and closely combined with a corresponding increase in the responsibility of every communist and all communists for performance of the assigned tasks. To that end it is of essential importance to increase the sense of responsibility for knowledge of the facts and good organization of the work, the role of the party activists, and the communists' participation in development and solution of the problems.

Ultimately, the party's leadership is reflected in the way every communist and every activist does his work. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "When we speak of party leadership we do not mean any abstract idea or slogan but the practical daily work whereby every communist and every activist as well as every party organization and committee up to the Central Committee combines the workers' efforts and acts in close touch with the masses, remaining always in their midst, working and living together with them, and sharing in their daily lives, cultural-educational activities and entertainment."

Full integration in society, increasingly close involvement of party activity with the entire people's work, and the communists' participation in all social activity in constant contact with the masses of workers and the people are sure ways for the party to keep enhancing its leadership and to develop as the vital center of the Romanian socialist nation.

The 13th RCP Congress on Development of the Party's Leadership

The programs approved by the 13th RCP Congress anticipate Romania's entry upon a new and higher stage of the revolution in the next five-year plan, a new stage of social and economic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the Congress, in the years to come we shall take new, untrodden and unknown paths, so that the activity of the party, of all its organizations and of every communist must be imbued with the revolutionary spirit, with selfless dedication in the service of the nation's highest interests, and with determination to promote all that is new and advanced in social thought and practice.

The principles of vital theoretical and practical importance concerning development of the party's leadership in the present stage of Romanian socialist society's development that are exhaustively set forth in the documents of the 13th RCP Congress require the party and its organs and organizations to be constantly guided by the revolutionary conception and to always act in the revolutionary spirit in order to promote the new and do away with all that is old and obsolete.

The great goals approved by the 13th Party Congress call for ever closer involvement of party activity with the work of the entire people and the communists' participation in all social activity in constant contact with the working masses and the entire people,* always making certain that the entire party policy will be the true expression of the will and interests of the working class and the people. The party general secretary said, "In the spirit of the documents we have approved and of the decisions of the 13th Party Congress, we shall have to make every effort to strengthen the RCP in all respects and to further expand the party's ties with the masses and the people, for it is solely in this close, inseparable unity of the party and the people that Romania's steady progress toward socialism and communism is guaranteed!" The documents approved by the 13th RCP Congress accordingly require the party organs and organizations to take very firm and determined measures henceforth to improve their working methods and approach and to further the party organizations' capacity for uniting and mobilizing all the workers' efforts to carry out the party's decisions.

As we know, in view of the results obtained, the Romanian economy's real potentials for progress, and the requirements of the present stage of national development, the 13th RCP Congress' decisions even more strongly emphasize the need of intensive development of the economy to meet the demands of the new stage of the technical-scientific revolution by modernizing the means of labor and the production structure and raising the technical and qualitative standards of the products. Particular importance is also attached to the aims of accomplishing the new agrarian revolution, which require a general change in the peasants' way of working, living and thinking and an agricultural output that can fully meet the entire people's consumer needs. The decisions of the 13th RCP Congress call for very firm continuation of the policy of developing the productive forces as a factor critical to general social progress, through proper distribution of the national income between the consumption fund and the development fund so as to secure socialist accumulation and expanded reproduction. Socialist ownership will be further improved and developed as the sole basis for the progress of socialist and communist society. Special emphasis will also be placed on growth of labor productivity and of the profitability and effectiveness of all economic activity. As Nicolae Ceausescu says about this, further development of the

*As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress.

national wealth and growth of effectiveness, profitability and the national income are the only ways to secure the nation's all-around progress and the people's greater material and cultural welfare.

Development of the party's role and improvement of its functions are the guarantees of these great objectives. To that end the documents of the 13th RCP Congress have formulated new and increasingly high duties for the party organs and organizations and all communists. The Report to the 13th RCP Congress points out the need of always keeping the active, innovating and revolutionary spirit of the party alive and of further efforts to improve the party's leadership in keeping with the requirements of the new stage and of the programs for socioeconomic development. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Let us make every effort so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party, stimulating all development and preserving the Romanian people's revolutionary, patriotic and militant spirit."

On the principle that construction of the new order is the outcome of the purposeful activity of the masses and the entire people, the RCP is emphasizing formation of the new man's awareness, the advanced social and moral values, patriotic awareness and the revolutionary spirit. This effort has been brilliantly embodied in the RCP Ideological Program, crafted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982 and ratified by the 13th RCP Congress as an integral part of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romanian's Advance Toward Communism. The documents of the 13th RCP Congress accordingly stress the requirement for the party organs and organizations always to be guided by the revolutionary conception and always to act in the revolutionary spirit.

The Ceausesc Era As a Higher Stage of Romanian Society's Historical Development

The victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation 40 years ago was the culmination of a long revolutionary process and a result of the RCP's struggle to unite the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia as well as all the national forces in defense of the entire people's interests and Romania's integrity and independence, and it inaugurated a new era in Romanian history, one of great revolutionary reforms. In that brief period the Romanian people progressed through several historical stages of socioeconomic development, from the bourgeois-landowner order to the fully developed socialist society. The strong assertion of the whole nation's creative power under the Communist Party's leadership was the deciding factor for the great innovations Romanian society experienced in that historical period. In only 40 years Romania was transformed from a country with an underdeveloped industry and a backward agriculture into an industrial-agrarian country with a strong modern industry, a socialist agriculture in full progress, and a steadily rising material and cultural living standard.

The complete and definitive victory of the new order, the increasingly intensive prosperity of socialist Romania, and the beginning of construction of the fully developed socialist society created the objective conditions and background for the full assertion of national independence and sovereignty. This fulfilled, on a higher level, the Romanian people's centuries-old aspirations to live in freedom in a unified, independent and prosperous state and to develop peaceful collaboration with their neighbors and all peoples of the world.

The stage inaugurated 20 years ago by the Ninth Party Congress stands out brilliantly in this period of extensive revolutionary reforms, a stage characterized by unprecedented economic and social vitality and by structural changes that have been profoundly influencing Romania's all-around progress and its steady advance on the course of socialism, communism, and a higher material and cultural civilization.

The Ninth Party Congress opened the way to some radical qualitative changes in all sectors of Romanian society as it took up in a new and profoundly creative spirit the vital problems of construction of the socialist system, development of the productive forces, further improvement of social and production relations, social organization and management, enhancement of the entire people's material and cultural welfare, and Romania's free and independent advancement among the nations of the world. As Nicolae Ceausescu said about this, "The Ninth Party Congress unleashed creative energies, did away with a number of stereotypes and dogmas, and assigned the RCP the task of building socialism with the people and for the people, proceeding from the specific Romanian conditions and applying the principles of dialectical materialism and scientific socialism as well as the generally valid truths to the realities of Romania. And it was the elimination of those dogmas and stereotypes that unleashed the Romanian people's energies and brought us the great achievements of today that have raised Romania to higher levels of all-around development in all fields."

In keeping with the dynamic, innovating spirit that characterizes the whole historical period inaugurated 20 years ago, the RCP has been consistently promoting the principle that the superiority of the socialist system does not assert itself automatically but requires sustained efforts toward thorough study of the facts of each stage, without evading the defects and shortcomings at any given given point, in order to secure social management in conformity with the objective trends of social development.

In the period following the historic congress of 1965, socialist Romania made great and important progress in intensive development of the productive forces, consistent industrialization, and development of the other economic sectors, securing the necessary conditions to raise the people's living standard and the level of civilization of all society and to strengthen the nation's material and cultural potential as well as its independence and sovereignty. These achievements emphatically illustrate the originality of the measures taken by the RCP and the state in solving the basic problems of social organization and management, their creative application of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception to the particular social-historical conditions in Romania, and their in-depth study of the new phenomena and aspects appearing in the course of revolutionary social reform and in international affairs.

In the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress the Communist Party emerged more and more definitely as the vital center of Romania and improved its forms and methods of operation. It is to the indisputable credit of Nicolae Ceausescu that he constantly urged further consolidation of the party's ties with the masses and always made certain that the whole policy of the party and the socialist state was based upon the will and highest interests of the people.

While creatively applying the general truths of the historical and dialectical-materialist conception to Romania's specific conditions, the RCP and its general

secretary developed new theories and concepts that make a useful contribution to correlation of Romania's experience with socialist construction, to the development of revolutionary theory and practice, and to the enrichment of the treasury of ideas of Marxist thought in accordance with the new conditions and requirements of the present period.

In the last 20 years the party has strengthened and widely developed its ties with the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the entire people and it has performed its role as the leading force in society by working together with the people and for the people, proving by force of the facts the fundamental truth that socialism and democracy are inseparable and that the socialist society we are building in Romania is serving the Romanian people's aspirations and wishes and is functioning in accordance with the general will of the people and their aspirations to socioeconomic progress and to further improvement of their material and cultural well-being.

Progress on the path of socialism and communism is a highly responsible purposeful social undertaking guaranteed by the party's performance of its function as the vital center of the whole nation. Consolidation of the party's leadership and improvement of its forms of organization and activity according to the tasks set by the 13th Party Congress and the requirements of the great goal of building the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism are the guarantees of Romania's rise to new peaks of progress and civilization.

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Kogalniceanu speaks for the "pleasure of appearing before the public" (part II, page 11). We are convinced that M. Kogalniceanu insisted on being in the parliament not to satisfy his vanity of listening to himself, as G. Penelea understood, but to be able to implement reforms which he dreamt of with a view to modernizing the country. He was a convinced supporter of parliamentary life. Regarding this activity, the publishing house could have been easily convinced had it read the discourse entitled modestly "Speech Against the Address Given at the Meeting of the General Assembly of Romania of 9 February 1863." He was a close collaborator of Cuza during the period the Statute, which introduced the bicameral system into the political life of the country, was being worked out. But, the publishing house presents to us, in the person of the famous statesman, a simple vain person who feels satisfaction when he dominates a group of deputies such as Sefendache, Gilca, Cita Niculescu, men with intellects of very low quality. In order to show what a great orator M. Kogalniceanu was, it is not necessary to compare him with such obscure people. He appears great even if he is compared to those more prominent politicians and orators of the respective time.

In the introduction of part II, on page 19, emphasis is placed on the inexcusable interference of the Minister of the Interior in the development of the parliamentary elections.

In addition to the factual material provided by the parliamentary debate, the publishing house also resorts with great satisfaction to the "Files" prepared following a "careful investigation" by V. Russu and D. Vitea in that direction. The facts extracted with great pleasure from these two sources are exact. A dedicated historian has two tasks from which he should not digress: 1. presenting the facts correctly; 2. explaining to the reader how the things were. Amateur historians usually comply only with the first obligation, no longer being in the position to also comply with the second one. And G. Penelea is satisfied with taking only the facts from the study of those two Iasi researchers, without their comments and interpretations; she does the same with the parliamentary debates. The publishing house never gives the reader the answer to the question of why Kogalniceanu does all these things. Thus it presents to us a distorted, false Kogalniceanu, falsifier of elections, who recruits for himself a parliament which, out of vanity, he can dominate. The reality was completely different.

Other big misrepresentation which the publishing house does with full knowledge referred to the Parliament of Romania. Not long ago, the Publishing House of the Academy published a valuable history of parliamentary life in Romania, which deserves every praise. In it is pointed out the role which this prestigious institution had in creating modern Romania. Georgeta Penelea presents to us a completely false parliament, a legislative assembly for which Kogalniceanu, has "only a demonstrative role" (ibid. part I, p 84). On page 16 of part II, speaking about the subject of debates and the interest which it presented for the deputies, she tells us: "But the budget, as well as the elections, made the deputies, who otherwise slept on the benches, participate in the debates."

We believe that there is no greater insult than this one against the basic institution of any parliamentary state. It is claimed that this country was

PUBLISHER CRITICIZED FOR MISREPRESENTATIONS OF STATESMAN KOGALNICEANU

Cluj-Napoca TRIBUNA in Romanian 5 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Vladimir Diculescu: "Misrepresentations in a Critical Edition"]

[Text] A decade ago, the presidium of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania took the initiative of publishing, in a critical edition, the works of M. Kogalniceanu. His entire works, according to their specific character, were divided into several volumes, each of these being given for publication to one or more persons considered competent in the respective fields. The speeches of the famous political figure were also included in these series under the title of "Oratory." Each topic is published in one or more volumes, depending on its size, and the volumes are divided in several parts when necessary. In the lines which follow we will discuss the aspect announced in the title, in the four parts of volume II of the so-called "Oratory" (lectures, additions, remarks), given by the Publishing House of the Academy to Georgeta Penelea for publication.

The fact that a number of historical misrepresentations, to put it mildly, were made in the introduction to part II is a serious matter. In the first place Kogalniceanu--the political figure--is slandered. On page 21 it is stated: "The fact that Mihail Kogalniceanu--all-powerful minister of Prince Cuza, outspoken opponent of parliamentarism (our emphasis), fiery and dominating temperament was invited to join the government in the fall of 1968 confirms the indisputable prestige which he enjoyed." In another part it speaks of the "Caesarism" of Kogalniceanu and his "dictatorial" tendencies, as a person who supported Cuza in carrying out the coup d'etat (cf. part I, p 6). All these facts are inexact, but correspond, among other things, to those maintained by conservative landlords, personal and political enemies, who could not forgive and forget the coup d'etat and the law of 1864. Thus presented, Kogalniceanu appears to us as a man with a totally immoral attitude. A man who from 1857 to 1891 stepped forward as a candidate and participated efficiently in the parliamentary life of Romania (with two absences), is presented, essentially, as an adversary of parliamentary life. Supplementing the statements in this introduction with those on page 8, part I of the volume, where it is stated that "Instead of a dialogue...in the 1864-1865 session there was a monologue by prime minister, interrupted by weak applause," so that the following statement, which is, let us stress again, completely false, can be added:

led by a parliament of sleepers (among whom we cite several names: I.C. Bratianu, C.A. Rosetti, Manolache Costache, P. Carp, Vasile Boerescu, etc.), with only a few staying awake, such as Sefendache, Galea and Cita Niculescu, who made superhuman efforts to stop Kogalniceanu; we find that this is all too much exaggerated, no matter how humorous it seems to the Publishing House.

During the last 50 years many good and bad things have been written on the modern history of Romania and on the politicians of the 19th century. But nobody dared till now to present in such a way Kogalniceanu and his work and the basic institution of constitutional Romania--the Parliament. What ought to be pointed out by the Publishing House is the fact that, during his life, Kogalniceanu was attacked, both in writing and verbally, by very many adversaries, both political and personal. But after his death nobody ever dared anything in that direction. Georgeta Penelea must ask herself a basic question: Why has all the world respected his memory until the year 1980?

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ARMY LCY DISCUSSES STANDARD OF LIVING, FUNDS

AU211943 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2416, 31 Oct 85 pp 5, 10

[Excerpts] A second subject discussed by the LC Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] at its 20th session held last Thursday [24 October] was some current questions of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA. The opening speech was made by Dr Micho Cusic. Having stressed that a continuously falling standard of living in the past few years leads to a serious endangering of the material position of some of the officers and civilians, Cusic went on to say:

This year efforts were made to ensure that any further drop in the standard of living of the regular army personnel and the civilian personnel be checked and that conditions be created for a gradual growth in the coming period. From this point of view, this year may be considered a certain turning point.

The realization of this orientation was accompanied by many difficulties. The greatest problem was presented by the steep rise in prices and the cost of living on the one hand, and the shortage of financial resources on the other. When the financial plans for 1985 were drafted, one reckoned with inflation of about 40 percent. However, even now it can be estimated that it will be close to 80 percent. Under such conditions, the financial resources approved are not sufficient to cover the planned YPA expenditure. An adjustment of the budget was requested and was approved, as you know. It should be stressed that some tendentious interpretations appeared in public information media in connection with the budget adjustment, but the truth is that only those funds were asked for that compensate the higher YPA expenditure because of inflation increasing above the rate calculated in the plan. This is also confirmed by the estimate that the YPA budget this year, despite the adjustment, will amount to 4.82 percent of the national income instead of the 5.2 percent envisaged in the plan for financing the YPA.

Despite the difficulties stipulated, the YPA made maximum efforts and in our assessment ensured that the standard of living of its personnel moved in conformity with the policy adopted for this year. The measures that were taken were taken on time and ran in several directions. This is best shown by the situation in the several subsectors of the standard of living. Thus, for instance, the fall in the real value of personal incomes of regular army personnel was checked this year. Certain changes were also made in the

system of personal incomes. The basic premises in these changes were 1) a search for solutions which will positively influence the moral-political state, the combat buildup, and the efficiency of the YPA, and 2) a firmer linking of personal incomes with work and results of work, while taking into account the existing characteristics of service in the YPA. The building of the personal incomes system of regular army personnel will be continued in the coming period.

For the purpose of bringing the personal incomes of civilians into the closest possible dependence on the nature of the work they do and on the results of labor achieved, new Regulations of Personal Incomes of Civilians Working in Units and Institutions Financed From the Budget have been issued.

The general assessment by the commands of the army regions and the organizational units of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense of the new system of personal incomes is positive, but some shortcomings have been pointed out in connection with the classification of jobs within groups, the evaluation of the result of work, and especially the effect of the years of service necessary for a pension [uticaj penzijskog staza]--which will be reduced--on the amount of personal income.

At the beginning of this year, there were about 25,500 applications for apartments. Out of these, about 22,000 were applications by persons serving in the YPA units and institutions which are financed from the budget, and about 3,500 were by persons working in revenue generating institutions. Out of the total number of apartment applications, about 12,000 or 50 percent are by people who have no apartment of their own, and the other are by people who want a larger apartment or have an apartment of their former place of work.

The waiting period for people who have no apartment of their own amounts to 4 and 1/2 years, and for those who have a right to a larger apartment about 6 years and 7 months. It follows that the average waiting period for an appropriate apartment in the YPA amounts to about 5 years and 6 months. Considering the difficulties in providing the funds as well as the reduction in the volume of housing construction, no essential change in the rate of solving housing problems can be expected in the coming period, either.

Taken as a whole, the provision of housing in the YPA, within the context of the provision of housing in society, may be assessed as favorable.

Referring to the employment of family members of regular army personnel and civilian personnel, Cusic pointed out that this is a very great problem which is constantly being generated through transfers according to the needs of the service. The unemployment of wives of regular army personnel is about 42 percent, except in the territory of the Ljubljana army region where unemployment is only about 15 percent. No data on the employment of children are available, but it is assessed that unemployment among them is large. The situation among civilian personnel is much more favorable for the simple reason that these cadres are territorially stable. Only about 23 percent of spouses are unemployed. The opportunities for resolving this problem more

quickly are very slender, both in the YPA and in society in general, where more than 1 million people are seeking employment.

Further in his speech Cusic spoke about the conditions for rest and recreation, winter supplies, issue of uniforms, children's allowances, and some other elements of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA.

He concluded his speech with data on the standard of living of the soldiers which, in contrast with the standard of living of career officers [stalni sastav], has been kept at the level reached earlier regardless of the inflationary, market, and other disturbances in the economic flows of the country.

Dr Nikola Cubra: Truth About the Budget Adjustment

As regards the material essence of the budget adjustment, it is essential to bear in mind the fact that it is not an increase of the funds for financing the YPA but only a partial compensation for what has been lost through a higher increase of prices and inflation. This means that the YPA, proposing that this difference be made good through the adjustment, did not ask for any additional funds and did not expand the volume of its spending and assignments in 1985 beyond the 4.82 percent of the national income as determined in documents on the socioeconomic development of the country and the Law on the Overall Volume of the Federal Budget.

The need to make good these funds in fact arose from the unrealistic estimate of the basic indicators of economic development, especially the rate of inflation. It is known that, when the federal budget was being drafted, one reckoned with 40-percent inflation, a rate of exchange of 210 dinars to the dollar, and a 20-percent average growth of personal incomes. It was clear even then that the nominal value of these indicators will be higher, because of which it was made a legal obligation to revalue the funds for financing the YPA if the inflation rate during the year exceeds the forecast.

Not knowing or insufficiently entering into the reasons for the revaluation of the funds for financing the YPA, a number of information media informed the public incompletely and unobjectively. Views could be heard that the federal budget adjustment does not take into account society's real ability to pay, that it is a fresh burden on the economy and an encouragement to inflation, and that it is not in keeping with the stabilization efforts of society. Although such views did not refer directly to the revaluation of the funds for financing the YPA, but to the federal budget in general, they cannot avoid being connected with the army budget as well, especially in cases when it was stressed that the largest share of the adjustments refers to the YPA.

The communists in the YPA cannot accept any interpretations of the adjustments to the federal budget for 1985 which purport to show that the YPA has received additional funds. This is extreme disinformation to the public, regardless of whether it arises from not knowing the facts or from

intentions which cannot be assessed as well-meaning. [end of report on Cubra statement]

Speaking about some questions of the standard of living of regular army personnel and civilian personnel working in the YPA, Metodija Stefanovski stressed that everything that happens in society--a constant rise of prices, inflation, slowness in solving some vital problems--is naturally reflected in the situation in the YPA, above all in the sphere of the standard of living. By improving the remuneration system we do not always achieve the desired results, because the increase of prices and inflation reduces their positive effects.

Stefanovski pointed out that we must in the future intensify our ideo-political work so as to reduce the scope for the activities of those who wish to exploit our difficulties. In this sense we should increase and improve the information to the people so that it should be clear to every officer and soldier what difficulties and shortcomings we are meeting, and especially what the prospects of getting out of the crisis are.

Commenting on the assessments, positions, and tasks which the committee adopted at this session, Georgije Jovicic in conclusion of the discussion said that the standard of living is a question of first-class importance, because it directly reflects on the moral-political state and the combat readiness of the units. The steps and tasks to preserve it are successfully implemented despite the economic difficulties which our entire society is experiencing. Certain omissions made in the system of remunerating the civilians will be eliminated with the further improvement of this system, Jovicic said. He called on all organs and organizations of the LC in the YPA to involve themselves even more in finding solutions which will bring the standard of living of YPA personnel into accord with work and results of work, the requirements of the YPA development, and the material possibilities of society.

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KOSOVO REINSTATES FORMER OPSTINA

[Editorial Report] The 23 October 1985 issue of the Pristina daily JEDINSTVO in its supplement DELEGATSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian publishes a draft law approved by the Kosovo Assembly on 16 October 1985 which provides for the reformation of a previously existing opstina, Malisevo, in this province, to be formed from parts of Klina, Glogovac, and Suva Reka opstinas. In discussing the reasons for the additional opstina, the law says that "certain opstinas in the province are too large with a fairly large number of inhabitants and with many settlements too removed from the opstina capital, a situation which is reflected in the [reduced] possibilities for realizing the rights and duties of working people and citizens of these areas....This is especially true for the area of the former Malisevo Opstina.

"Uneven economic development of the province's opstinas and the growing number of opstinas which are being treated as economically underdeveloped areas is a reflection of the growth of migratory movements of the population to more developed opstinas and urban centers which has intensified the economic and social problems of these more developed opstinas and city centers. In fact, in the recent period there has been a concentration of material [better] conditions mainly in larger opstinas centers, as a result of which the more uniform development of all parts of the opstinas has been neglected or not fully achieved."

Malisevo Opstina is expected to contain 40 settlements with 97.96 percent (34,146 persons) of its population Albanian and 1.2 percent Serb. The draft law noted that the elimination of this opstina in 1965 had had negative consequences, and that "in the last 10 years this area, in addition to a number of contradictions, has become characterized as having a very high population increase."

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